fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT continues on Top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
[582] remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
591 disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

[361] Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frie or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

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1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property.

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered-down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1). In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #1. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[804] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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ECONOMICS OF LAND DIVISION

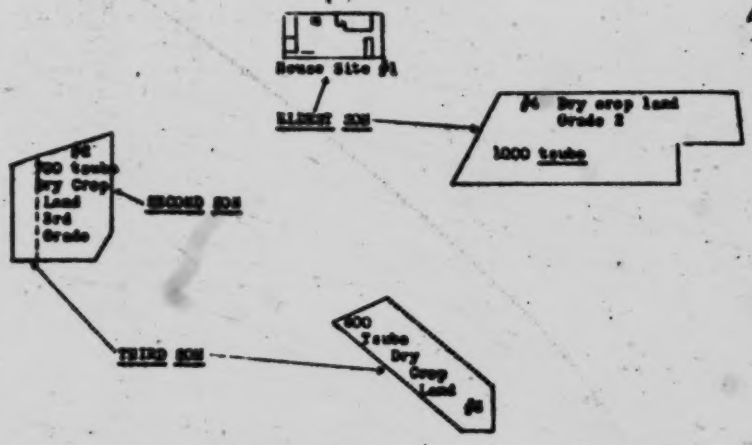
House Site #1
#6 Dry crop land Grade 2
1000 tsubo
#6 300 tsubo Dry Crop Land 3rd Grade
SECOND ZONE
THIRD ZONE
300 Tsubo Dry Crop Land #6

Fig. 1

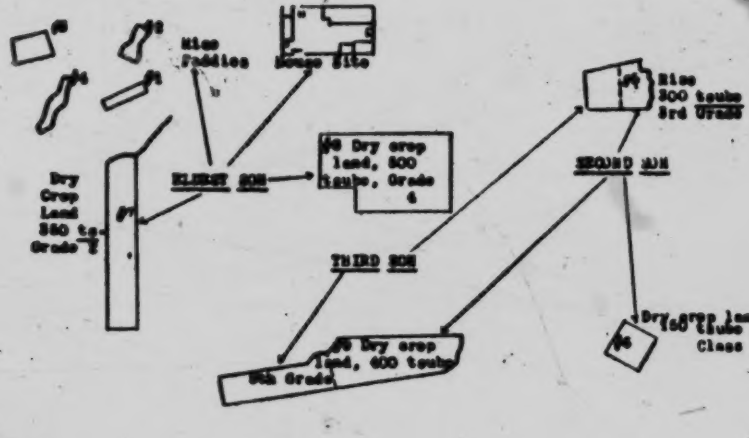

Fig. 2

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Hatsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

423 34

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Hatsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [137] [423] [824] [731] [432] [764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

3) The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

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[824] In Hamashiro, The genya grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Hinatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Hinatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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182 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

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1

The Old Land Allotment System

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[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of P. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Minatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

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175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups [571] (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

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423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

"Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

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Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

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2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

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Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

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179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boars. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed [428] very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be particularly true in the case of property which had passed down through [425] the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399.

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One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sahl), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

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In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1836, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 60' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

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The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	497	327.1
1	51	320.2
2	73	357.0
3	140	327.9
4	108	335.7
5	98	293.3
6	27	343.5

b. Minatogawa

Total	207	256.5
1	0	—
2	3	394.0
3	24	316.2
4	41	309.1
5	139	227.7

c. Matsuda

Total	1155	162.4
1	30	148.0
2	106	174.8
3	300	159.4
4	436	174.2
5	207	148.9
6	76	131.3

Wild Land (Genya)

a. Hanashiro

Total	360	462.6
1	81	378.9
2	279	486.9

b. Minatogawa

Total	71	244.3
1	20	184.2
2	47	275.7
3	2	140.0
4	2	209.5

c. Matsuda

Total	1140	327.8
1	36	560.3
2	1091	320.5
3-6	13	301.5

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plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.11 185 133 311 [171]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

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423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanization of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

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5

Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old.

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be?

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These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

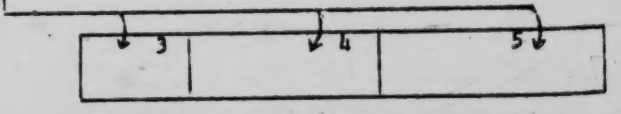
Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. 1	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. 2	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass 3	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. 4			5

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:

1 Sweet Potato Seed Bed Potatoes planted in Feb. May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5	Planted in Soybeans 2 in January. Harvested in May. Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest. The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:



A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

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Rotation #2, Matsuda

**First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.**

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

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of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stenciled and ready for shipment.

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use.

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered.

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity.

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom.

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields.

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays.

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [11] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for house-building, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (<u>gunya</u>) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226--analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply <u>mutatis mutandis</u> to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

423
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Hatsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island, Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Hatsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub.

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Hatsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Hatsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides.

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource.

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office.

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds.

6 Ibid, 285-87.

7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

[text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's
[407] living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic
[373] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa,
[404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

217
592 The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

217
213 The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632 Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zaisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

● [423] The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[627] The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanado). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shōsoku, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

793 Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
[791] they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Matsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Oinosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Matsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Oinosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Matsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Oinosa, and the other eight in Matsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[E-5]

6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Matsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Matsuda.

Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1956) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [543] [549] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 11 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

[933] [511] [433]

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

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◆
◆

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons.

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate.

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land.

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century.

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the

423 [621] [474] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages [426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] [122] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 747 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

[22] [423] Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

65 [432] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [634]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

632 The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records
• 423 ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head
[651] of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned
744 with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative
178 branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections
[664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide ef-
622 fective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchōkai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect
651 taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[642] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The 175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center 565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of [423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 [566] The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. [361] Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. [621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally [613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for [614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con- [582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 175 423 [632] Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 [632]

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

175 423 651 632

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percentage, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes, and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated. Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

175 648 177 423 177 423 428 592 [166] [602] [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

175 423 427 [471] [648] [171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

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3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The
[648] measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office. 423 ● 647

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land. 651 423

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dissatisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas. 428 829 [642] [423] 428 829 184

[Kanegusuku]

621 [311]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities.

621 423 427

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others.

621 423

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. [427]

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Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [241]

[342]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young.

[Kanegusuku]

621 Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who
423 still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage.
425 Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it
427 out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle.
Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots,
[769] especially old family sites. The house lot is such cases is regarded as an important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again
427 in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
• 423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423]* [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178